/152 cont./

*782 [t[illegible] -mang]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kueiy mangl
783 jeng jiangl] and [kueiy mangl jeng qiangl]. The time is in broad
825 daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only
[776] necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some
•627 matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is
[578] wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [[illegible]].
[778] For minor matters it is done at the village shrine
[774] for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1)
to drink blood.

1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

/152 cont./

*782 •627 [825] to drink blood. They may be treated separately as follows:

A. Drinking at the shrine of the local divinity of the soil.

Drinking blood at the local shrine is also called "drinking chicken blood." During the day or at night they prepare a cock and some paper money. First they kill the cock, and its blood is allowed to drip into wine. This is then carried to the local shrine and offered to the kuei. The names of the kuei are [nang nɛ [776] ɹiɤɤ bu] and [nang mai ɹi teŋɤ]. A Miao sorcerer is asked to utter an incantation to the following effect:

> "This sorcerer-priest has arrived at a forked road and cannot think how to decide. Formerly, without any business I dared not recklessly mention the local kuei's names, but today these two parties are involved in a dispute over land boundaries, each insisting on his version of the case, and not able to reach a settlement. [825] Therefore, we have made /153/ this bowl of chicken blood, and the two sides have come before the kuei to drink blood and take a vow. After the drinking, then a settlement will result."

At this point the parties of the dispute each has a swallow of blood. The sorcer-priest burns paper and continues the incantation:

> "The wrong party after drinking this blood will then die, dying nine times and becoming nine times extinct."

After the incantation, they disperse. The cock is taken by the sorcerer-priest, to whom each side also has to give one or two, three or four, strings of cash. There being no set number.

B. Drinking blood in the T'ien Wang Temple.

[825] Drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple is also called "drinking cat's blood," because it is necessary to stab a cat, and its blood is dripped into wine to drink to make a vow. When drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, one must have a witness, who is called the "blood supervisor." There are many designations for blood drinking, and there are three kinds, drinking one tube of blood, two tubes of blood, and three tubes of blood. Because there are many cases, the number of occasions for drinking blood also are numerous. There is also substitute blood drinking, when the witness or a relative of one of the parties may be allowed

*782 /153 cont./
627 by the other party to drink blood in place of the principal in order to settle a dispute. There is also all-round blood drinking in which the witness and the disputing parties all drink blood. This generally occurs when the two parties mutually avail themselves of pretexts, and there is no alternative but for the two parties and the witness all to drink blood. Moreover, there are times when the whole family drinks blood. The whole family, father, mother, wife, and children, male and female, big and small, altogether enter the temple to drink blood. In drinking blood, this is the most important. After drinking blood each must take an oath, saying: "If you wrongly accuse me, I shall become very prosperous; if I wrongly accuse you, then I shall nine times die and nine times be cut off." After the blood drinking, there can be no regrets, regardless of whether the issue is important or trivial.

On drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, it is necessary to write out the oath /to be burned?/. A blood list is also burned. The blood supervisor is compensated with a sum of 880 cash or at most 8,800 cash, which is called "money for binding words." Three days after the blood drinking one has to kill an animal to make good the vow, which is called "repenting."

[691] [695] The Miao are addicted to kuei and to litigation. Sometimes litigation may last a year, and the court, unable to decide the case, may ask both parties to eat blood. This serves as a deterrent. Yen Ju-yü in his Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "Those who enter the temple to drink blood move on their knees and bellies, not daring to look up; those who are in the wrong dare not drink it, but repent and yield." In the course of our investigations in the Miao frontier area, the private secretary of the hsien government at Feng-huang, Mr. Wang Yüeh-yen told us: "The T'ien Wang temple is the Supreme Court of the Miao area. [695] When a Miao is not satisfied with the decision of the hsien government, then he is ordered to go to the T'ien Wang temple to drink blood. Whatever the litigation, big or small, it receives immediate settlement." [692] It can be seen that the Miao's awe of kuei is greater than their awe of the law.

/160 cont./

*782 [782] [776] [627] [778] are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacrificial beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69), which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be [627] asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints, secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other [731] [755] [691] times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned. The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the [691] [731] [755] time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled, but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

[773] [776] What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang? Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of

2: Ling & Ruey--242 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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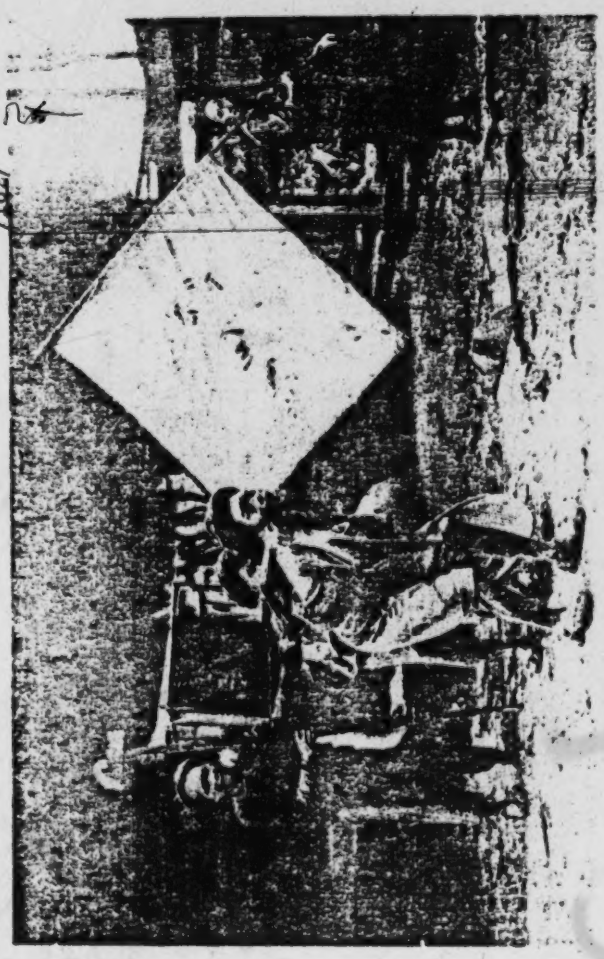
/162/



Illus. 70. T'ien Wang going out on a tour.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

586 and the little food she got, she is willing to return, but her husband has never come to his home to fetch her. Note, it is the custom for a husband to make a present to his wife's father on such an occasion.

Many angry words are spoken by the three parties concerned, and after everybody has added his or her word to the discussion, the case may be ended by the elders suggesting that the lover should repay the husband the cost of his wife and marry her himself, and that the husband should take the money and go elsewhere for a wife. If, however, the lover's influence is strong, the elders may decide that the girl go back to her husband, knowing that she will do nothing of the sort, or will not stay with him if she does go back. The case is thus only postponed for another time. We have assisted at some of the discussions of these matrimonial cases and know how hard they [691] are to settle. These daughter-in-law cases are not often brought before the Chinese magistrate, except when they have led to fighting, and, as sometimes happens, to serious wounds and homicide.

• 627 In the west and north-west of the province, when the Miao are the tenants of the I-chia landholders, all disputes about the land are

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

settled by the landlord, and their matrimonial disputes are settled among themselves, so there is very little litigation among them in the Chinese courts. 627

To help the reader to understand the conditions under which the people of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, live outside the cities and towns, it should be mentioned that in most parts of the province there are local bands of robbers, dacoits they would be called in Burma, who prey upon travellers and upon the people who live in little villages and hamlets. As the population varies all over the province, some of these bands are composed of Chinese, some of Miao, and some of Chinese and Miao. 579

Two or three years ago when we were at Panghai, two days south-west of Chenyüan, the Panghai robbers, while prowling not far from Pingtsai, fifteen miles lower down the river, kidnapped a Miao girl who was sister, or something else, to one of the Pingtsai band of robbers. The Pingtsai robbers resented this and threatened to come to Panghai and attack the Panghai band. Thereupon there was a great sharpening of swords and spears in Panghai market-place and much tall talk. The Pingtsai men, however, did not come, and we never heard how the affair was settled. Both 579 628

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lʌu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

NT P6. 29

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
● 627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
761 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
782 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and
756 proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
787 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision.
756 Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

8) To protect children. Many families whose children
756 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their
751

[134 cont.]
773 the Miao, and this mythology is therefore the oldest and the most important.

As far as the present writer is aware, the ancestral myths of the different Miao tribes vary slightly, but that of the Sheng Miao is especially interesting. Disregarding the irrationality of these strange events, we have to recognize the fact that with the simple, ignorant people mythology is their living history. This kind of myth came from an unknown period in ancient times, that is, the mythical period. If we ask the Sheng Miao about their myth, they would say that they "do not understand" or that "it was handed down from generation to generation by their ancestors since the remotest times." They have long since forgotten [135] its origin. Some of the Sheng Miao are specially
773 entrusted with the duty of preserving and passing on such tales,
888 and they are generally well-known leaders or aged people with good memories. Young men and women know a little about these stories, but cannot tell them entirely. These mythical tales are not told for recreation, as ordinary stories and as a rule they are not commonly heard. We know that with the primitive people experience is very important. The young people usually listen to the words and warnings of the aged, who become automatically their guardians and leaders. With the Sheng Miao it is the same. The old people are the custodians of all their knowledge and wisdom. The fact that they can recount their ancestral myths entitles them to special respect. The telling of myths is a special occasion, from which outsiders are not often excluded. If we compel them to tell the stories, they would find excuses or else would not do a thorough job for fear that they may be ridiculed.

627 In every Sheng Miao village there is a set of rules and
773 regulations which are voluntarily observed. In case of violation the offense is quickly adjudged by the public and an elder is invited to execute the punishment. Before it is carried out, however, he would tell the accused in a solemn manner the myths of their ancestors. Also in the case of a serious dispute the elder would summon both parties together, and first tell them the story of their ancestors before settling the dispute.

[135 cont.]

627 773 After a decision is rendered in this fashion both parties would show compliance and would not carry the case to the law courts. Although the mythology handed down from mouth to mouth does not have religious contents, it becomes a kind of prophecy to those people who hold everything pertaining to their ancestors in the highest respect. It is entirely due to this inherent respect for their ancestors that the ancestral myth is recounted before carrying out the punishment or at the time of settling a dispute. The idea is to employ the will of the ancestors to restrain the actions of their descendants. It is interesting to note that the mythology of the Sheng Miao, meant originally to inform posterity of the stories of their ancestors' life, has also assumed the corrective and preventive functions of law.

773 538 [136] The ancestral myth recorded by this writer consists of three versions, which are scattered over every corner of the Sheng Miao area. Although these versions show some variance, they have the same origin. The original mythology of all ethnic groups is told in verses or songs so that they can be remembered easily by posterity. The first two versions of the ancestral myth are told by the Sheng Miao as prose stories due to the disappearance of the poetical versions in the course of time. The third version is a song sung by the Sheng Miao, and few indeed are those elders in the whole area who can sing the song in its entirety. It therefore still retains all its simple primitive character. The whole song has 488 lines and represents the pure myth of the Sheng Miao regarding the origin of man. The three versions are given as follows.

The First Version

539 There was an old woman who descended from heaven to the earth with a melon seed. She planted this seed on the top of a mountain range. After three days the seed sprouted and the vine extended to more than two feet. After seven days the melon plant covered the whole mountain, yielding many large melons. Among the melons there was the melon king so large that it could accommodate several dozen persons inside. It

[163 cont.]
631 government with the functions of an administrator, with the title
648 of "t'ou-sseu" (administrator of barbarian country). This personage has retained a certain moral influence over the neighboring Tonkinese regions but naturally has no administrative authority over these populations.

The "Méo" settled in Tonkin are subject to Annamese law and amenable to the various native and European courts. Most of their
● [627] differences are adjusted on the spot, according to the special customs of each tribe. When there is truly no means of settling the affair, the case is brought before higher jurisdiction.

[164] The "Méo" greatly dread the European courts, not so
147 much because of the severity of their sentences, but because these
648 courts most frequently sit in the towns situated at low altitude, where the "Méo" are unable to live. It has quite frequently happened to us to have to judge certain "Méo," the importance of whose crimes exceeded our competence. Upon the announcement of their being sent before the court of the resident of Laokay (altitude: 90 meters) the defendants threw themselves at our feet, saying: "Kill me at once, for if you send me to Laokay, I am sure to die there."

The "Méo" family is not united by as strong ties as the fami-
593 lies of the other groups. Here again is found another manifestation
866 of the spirit of independence of the "Méo," who accept no constraint, even that of the paternal authority when it becomes too annoying. Boys and girls are raised at random, without control and without advice, obeying freely the dictates of their will and their instincts. They part company with their family when it pleases them. However, one son always remains in the paternal household to keep up the cultivation of the fields belonging to the family.

769 Ancestral worship, which constitutes elsewhere so strong a family tie, is observed by the "Méo" in the most summary fashion.

Upon the death of the father, it is the mother who remains head
768 of the family and proprietress of the various belongings, real and personal. When the mother dies in her turn, the personal property
[428] (money, utensils, animals, crops) are divided among the male children. The eldest son or that one of the sons who remains settled in the paternal home becomes head of the family and cultivates the

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concerned immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young
[626] man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in.
[684] If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going," as my informants said. On the other hand, if the
[851] seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317.

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/107 cont./

M 593 123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man bearly eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled M [622] [627] in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M 593 595 [177] [606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nǎ thǒ. As soon as her husband has M [606] built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

A 595 [606] [422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes